3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

About one-third of the families fail in the processes of competition and cooperation. It is not that they lack the spirit of cooperation, but that they do not produce enough for exchange. Economic self-sufficiency, if it has ever existed in this village, has gone. To produce for one's own consumption alone is insufficient. The ideal is for a farmer to produce enough for his own use together with a surplus for exchange for other necessities and for future goods. There is, however, not a single family which cultivates cash-crops only. There is too much risk for small-scale farming involved in such an attempt. Thus a farmer finds a world larger than his family or village, but in case he is defeated in this larger world, the only thing left to him is perhaps to return to his home for encouragement and comfort.

Sex

Less realistic but more romantic than hunger is the desire of sex. Talking about sex is as yet not allowed in public among the villagers. On the surface, the principle of modesty seems to be well observed. Consequently, it is exceedingly difficult for an outsider to make any observation on intimate sex behavior and sex interests of the villagers. Nevertheless, once an investigator has been taken as their friend, he never fails to hear gossip about sex problems.

The P'ing-chiao-tsun folks still believe in the separation of the sexes, but in practice, this separation has not been rigidly observed. Below the age of six, girls and boys mix quite freely. Beginning at ten, life with the girls grows more serious. To them and their parents, chastity is a matter of great concern.

The normal age for marriage varies from eighteen to twenty-four with females marrying at an earlier age than males. While marriage is, in the ideology of villagers, not so much for carnal satisfaction as it is for progeny,[12] it is, nevertheless, the only socially approved form of cohabitation. This is particularly true with the females.

In the Chinese way of thinking, marriage is not merely the union of two individuals, it is an affair that concerns the two families.

12 "The desire of Sex is composed, fundamentally, of the carnal appetite; secondly, of the psychic want for affection, esteem, and companionship; and thirdly, of the desire for progeny." — A. E Ayau, The Social Psychology of Hunger and Sex, p. 61. In the ideology of the P'ing-chiao-tsun folks, these three elements are in a reverse order.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

taking the initiative in giving information concerning the relations of members in the family and in instructing his spouse with the important family rules. The first act of copulation is considered as a very solemn act by the members of the two families as well as the newly married couple. It is an act upon which the chastity of the woman is decided. It is an act upon which the future happiness of these two persons and their descendants largely depend. It is an act upon which the future relation of the two families hinges.

Theoretically, no one is supposed to have any sex relation before marriage. Furthermore, any extra-marital sexual relation is disapproved. But in practice the situation is different. It has been reported that a few years ago the daughter of a farmer was forced to marry a farm laborer of the house because she had an affair with him. It has also been said that a few girls have been given away to poor families because they are found to have lost their chastity.

Romances between fathers-in-law and daughters-in-law have been gossiped about. When sons are away at work in distant places, aggressive daughters-in-law are said to approach their fathers-in-law who, so the story goes, very often find it difficult to refuse. There are also cases reported regarding romances between young men and young women of different families. It is, of course, difficult to verify these reports. Villagers hate to be the objects of gossip, but they seem to enjoy gossiping about other persons' affairs.

Under the double standards of morality, it is very difficult indeed for an unmarried woman to get any sex satisfaction. But for the females, the purpose of marriage is not so much for sex satisfaction as it is for economic security. They are very careful to keep their chastity in the hope that they can be married to families of fair economic means.

For the males, the case is different. They may not find any sex satisfaction in the village before marriage because their behavior is strictly observed there, but they are sure that they can find mercenary prostitutes in market-towns, along the roads, and in the city. There are, however, very few such cases in the village. Villagers prefer to have their sons married young if they can afford to do so financially.

On the whole, the husbands of wives in P'ing-chiao-tsun live a sane life. There are only a few persons who possess the economic means to have sex indulgence. Altogether less than five cases have been reported to have concubines, and only two or three are constant visitors to prostitutes.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

Physiologically, the satisfaction of the sex impulse requires only two individuals. In human society sex is, however, much more than physiological. Customs requires the sex relation to be sanctioned by a group.[13] It has already been stated that a marriage is the union of two families. Furthermore the wedding of two individuals is a community affair. Pre-marital and extra-marital sexual affairs are negatively sanctioned. Under such circumstances, the sex relation becomes a social institution. In P'ing-chiao-tsun, the institutionalization of sex relations has gone so far that the carnal element has been obscured. The satisfaction of the sex impulse involves the cooperation of a group larger than the union of two families and still far greater than the union of two individuals.

Social Order

In so far as man adopts the roundabout method in the satisfaction of his material needs, and in so far as the satisfaction of the human sex impulse is something more than the physiological union of two individuals, the order of political relationships among human beings has to be maintained. It has already been shown that normal union of the two sexes has to be sanctioned by the community. The exchange of material means and services, so important in the roundabout way of human satisfaction of hunger, also requires a set of rules of sanction.[14] It is because the problem of sanction and order is so important that a separate section is devoted to it.[15]

---

13 By far the most significant study of sexual life from the sociological standpoint is the work of Bronislaw Malinowski. See The Sexual Life of Savages in North-Western Melanesia, An Ethnographic Account of Courtship, Marriage, and Family Life among the Natives of the Trobriand Islands, British New Guinea, 1st edition, London, 1929, third edition, 1932. See also his early publication, Sex and Repression in Savage Society, London, 1927.

14 "A sanction is a reaction on the part of a society or of a considerable number of its members to a mode of behavior which is thereby approved (positive sanctions) or disapproved (negative sanctions)." — A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, "Sanction, Social", in Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, Vol. 13, p. 531. Bronislaw Malinowski laid special emphasis on the principle of reciprocity in maintaining social order. See Crime and Custom in Savage Society, London, 1926; also his "Introduction" in H. Ian Hogbin, Law and Order in Polynesia, New York, 1934.

15 Sumner and Keller have included "regulative organization" (including government and law) together with "industrial organization" under "self-maintenance". See The Science of Society, Vol. I, New Haven, 1927.